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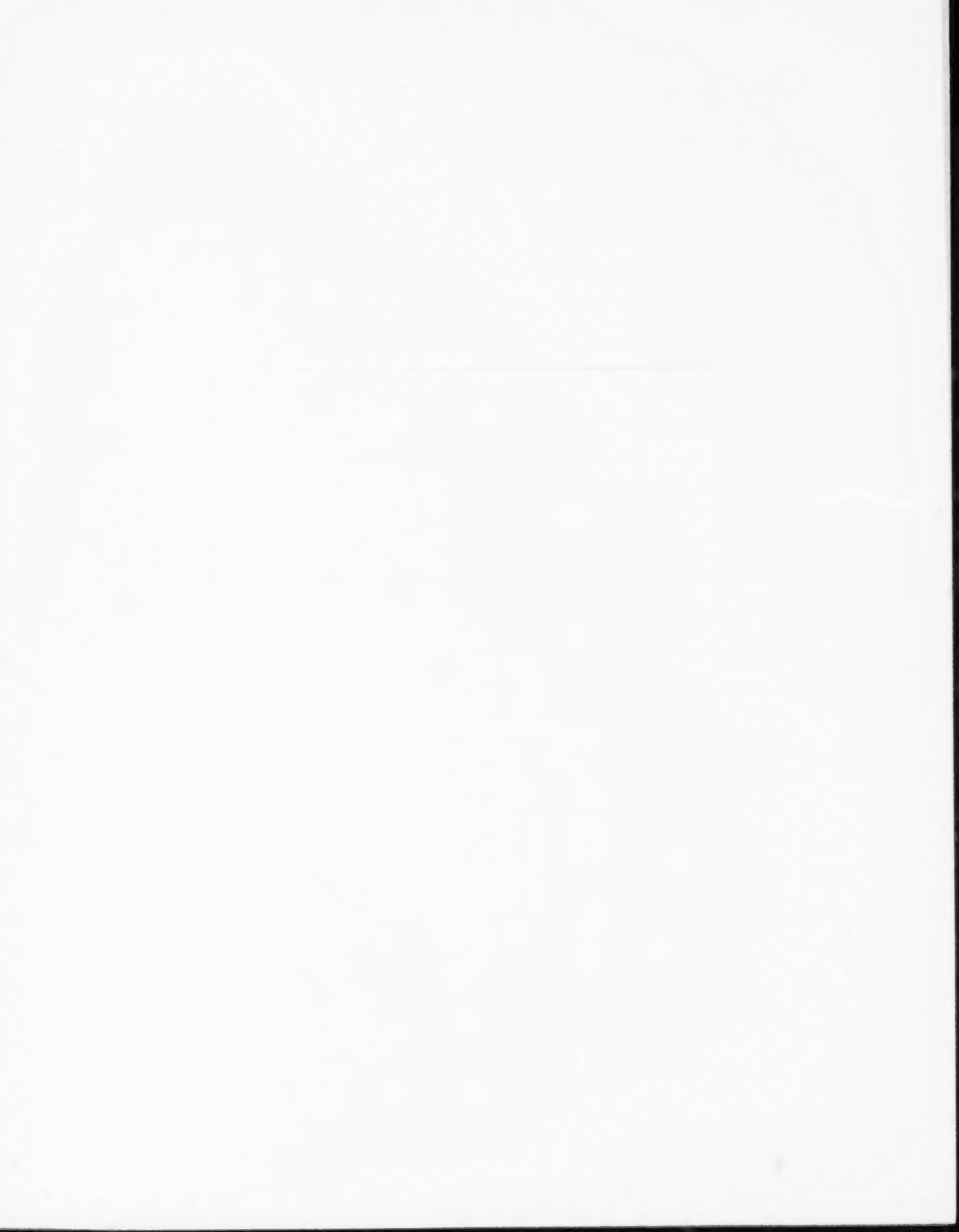


Centre canadien
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**EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA AND
ASIA PACIFIC: COOPERATION OR CONFLICT?
-Conference Report-
October 1997
Donald Barry, University of Calgary**



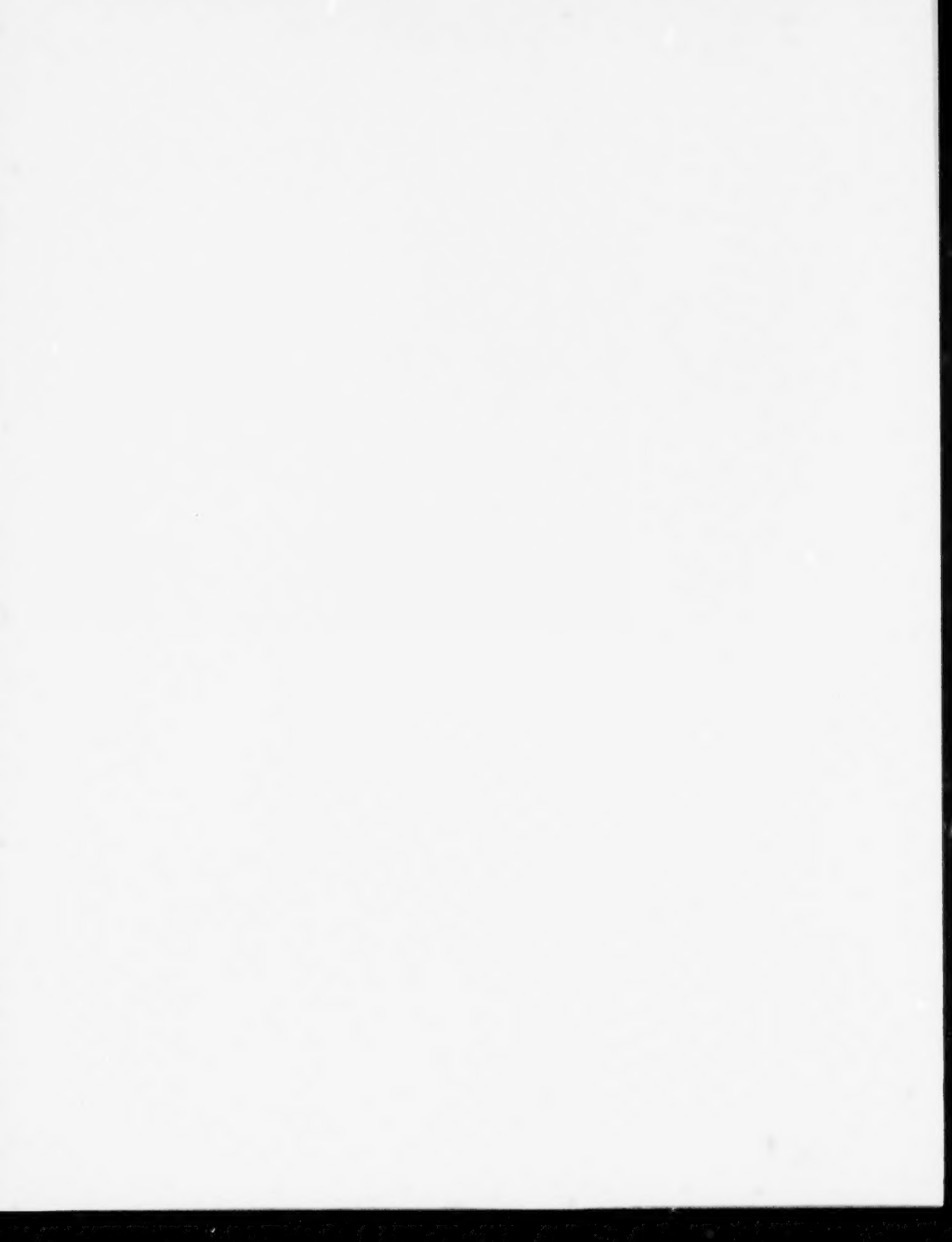


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ASIA PACIFIC: COOPERATION OR CONFLICT?

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Conference Report
EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA AND ASIA PACIFIC:
COOPERATION OR CONFLICT?

University of Calgary, October 24-25, 1997

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Donald Barry

Two seemingly antithetical forces, globalization and regionalism, are shaping the contemporary world economy. Globalization--the production and marketing of goods and services across increasingly permeable state boundaries--is accelerating interdependence on a global basis. Regionalism--cooperation among states in a geographical area or sharing common concerns--is an attempt to harness the pressures of globalization through strengthened economic collaboration, most notably in Europe through the European Union (EU), in North America through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and in Asia Pacific by means of Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The rise of regional cooperation has stimulated a lively debate about whether regionalism supports or undermines the multilateral trading system embodied in the World Trade Organization (WTO). The debate, and the underlying factors of globalization that inform it, also has ramifications for the role of the state in world affairs. The purpose of this conference was to explore the changing relationship between regionalism and multilateralism, and the implications for national policy, in a changing global system.

Fifteen academics and policy makers presented papers exploring the relationship between regional and multilateral trade regimes and the implications for domestic decision making; the nature of regional integration in Europe, North America and Asia Pacific; relations among the three regions; and the role of regionalism and multilateralism in Canadian foreign policy. In addition, three

private sector participants provided perspectives on the implications of regionalism and globalism for Canadian business activity. Keynote addresses were given by former prime minister Joe Clark and John Curtis of the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.

More than 150 delegates attended the conference. The audience consisted of students, academics, business representatives, and members of the interested public.

The presentations were of high quality and the discussion was lively and well informed. It was generally agreed that the conference made an important contribution to our understanding of regionalism and the implications for governments and business.

An edited volume based on the conference papers will be published by the University of British Columbia Press.

CONFERENCE SUMMARY

Rt. Hon. Joe Clark in his opening keynote address, argued that the issues addressed at the conference depend as much upon diplomatic and political factors as they do on trade and economics. While acknowledging the homogenizing effect of economic pressures in the post-Cold War World, he observed that political and security factors are also shaping the contemporary international system. When the world is successful in dealing with political and security matters economic prosperity will grow and expand, when it is not there will be no growth or conditions for growth. Canada's acknowledged ability to respect diversity and to manage complexity give the Canadian government a potentially important role to play in the contemporary era in which order depends on the capacity to reconcile differences and to work out practical rules and regimes to sustain international order and prosperity.

The second major address, given by John Curtis, focused on Canadian policy in advance of the 1997 APEC leaders meeting in Vancouver. As chair Canada's key objectives would be to maintain the momentum and process of APEC, to demonstrate its Asia Pacific credentials to APEC members and the domestic public, and to bring to bear Canada's skills at multilateral institution building. Agenda items of particular interest to Canada were: trade and investment liberalization, economic and technical cooperation, collective action plans, voluntary sectoral liberalization, trade facilitation measures and economic development. Overall, Canada would attempt to leave the organization "with a solid, forward-looking agenda well underway to being implemented by all eighteen member economies."

The conference was divided into six sessions:

Session I: Regionalism and Globalism (This panel examined the relationship between regional and multilateral trade regimes in an era of globalization.)

Michael Hart contended that the WTO would not have become entrenched in the constellation of international trade rules without major breakthroughs in rule making and institution building at the regional level. The development of the current "multi-tier" trading system required a high level of synergy, involving the negotiation and implementation of regional agreements and a willingness on the part of members of these arrangements to learn from, and apply, their experience at the multilateral level. The components of the multi-tier system should be viewed as building blocks in the shift from the regulation of commerce among national economies to the management a global economy based on a universal set of rules.

Gilbert Winham assessed the challenge regional arrangements pose to the multilateral trade regime, based on a review of the WTO and NAFTA. He observed that while the desire of governments to achieve internal economic reform is an important contributor to regionalism, global forces are driving multilateralism. Globalization will likely have the more significant impact because, unlike domestic

restructuring, it is determined by factors beyond the control of the state, most notably by businesses that need global rules to compete in international markets. Regionalism can distort trade, but it will not pose a serious threat to the multilateral trade system as long as the momentum for international trade liberalization can be maintained.

Session II: The Dynamics of Regional Integration (This panel discussed the development of regional organization in Europe, North America and Asia Pacific.)

Charles Pentland examined European integration as it is manifested in three issues--economic and monetary union, common foreign and security policy, and home and justice affairs--that have dominated the EU's agenda in the 1990s. The Union that emerges from his study is an adaptive "hybrid political form," shaped by a variety of actors and forces, with a proliferation of decision making methods--supranational, intergovernmental and transgovernmental. Pentland argues that the intensity of the EU experience and the accumulation of its economic and political decisions suggest that European integration will not likely be reversed and that the Union will continue to evolve as it confronts new issues.

Robert McCleery explored the prospects for the expansion of the NAFTA. The positions of the US, the leading trade and investment partner for most Latin American countries, and Brazil, which boasts the region's second largest economy, are pivotal. Conflicting views about the reasons for pursuing free complicate the conduct of American policy. US decision makers, attracted to the economic gains but pressed by domestic opponents, will likely pursue NAFTA expansion on an incremental basis as political circumstances permit. Regional free trade offers substantial economic benefits to the countries of Latin America, although the long range gains may be tempered by short term adjustment costs. Should the US fail to

play a leadership role an increasingly assertive Brazil could become the prime mover in transforming MERCOSUR into a South American Free Trade Agreement. This in turn could prompt the US to assume a more aggressive stance in order to forestall the expansion of Brazil's influence.

Steve Chan examined issues of trade dependency and diversification among the members of APEC, focusing on the nexus between national power and trade structure. He contended that dependency theory poorly describes the evolving status of APEC countries. Chan's analysis suggests that while the US and Japan have been and will continue to be the most important members of APEC, their relative importance is declining as the newly industrialized states expand, diversify and increase the manufactured content of their trade. The overall picture they represent is one of "upward mobility in international politics."

Session III: Relations Among Europe, North America and Asia Pacific

(This panel dealt with the inter-regional relationships among Europe, North America and Asia Pacific.)

Carolyn Rhodes explored the changing relationship between the US and the EU. She noted that while the US continues to be the dominant military power, the EU now rivals the US in global economic terms. Changing international trade and investment patterns, Rhodes observed, have created a more interdependent economic relationship between the US and the EU that is shaping policy goals and influencing the character of bilateral and multilateral negotiations and outcomes. The growing web of interconnected Transatlantic interests make it increasingly difficult for either side to pursue nationalistic policies at the other's expense. When the US and the EU join forces in global negotiations progress is made; when their interests diverge compromise is generally achieved. This situation has created opportunities

for third countries, including Canada, to align themselves with one side or the other in order to advance their policy agendas.

Charles Morrison examined the US role in fashioning APEC policies as well as the changing contours of Asia-Pacific regionalism. The US, he pointed out, views APEC as an instrument to further "a worldwide strategy of market opening and regime-building." There are significant US-Asian tensions on questions of trade, investment, and technical and economic cooperation. At the domestic level, however, APEC has provided the US with a useful means of defusing pent up protectionist sentiment against the miracle economies of Asia. While the full effect of the Asian crisis not yet known, Morrison was cautiously optimistic about the future of Asia Pacific cooperation, which he saw as likely to produce some gains in increasing free trade "in a competitive process between different regionalisms." He, however, was not so sanguine as to whether the original expectations that APEC would "level up compliance with global regimes" will be fulfilled.

Richard Higgott examines the Asia-Europe relationship (ASEM) which was inaugurated at the Bangkok summit in 1996. ASEM has been dismissed as an amorphous exercise, but Higgott's counterintuitive analysis cut beneath the rhetoric to explore the political dimensions of intra- and inter-regional leadership in social learning and the management of change. Higgott acknowledged that the linkages between East Asian and European policy communities are weaker than those between East Asia and the United States. He argued, however, that a stable inter-regional dialogue can yield real economic opportunities. It can also provide an important political opportunity for the two sides to enhance their identities vis-a-vis the US in the mutual promotion of "socialized" inter-regional dialogue and "systemic" interaction.

Session IV: Whither Canada? (This session focused on the role of regionalism and multilateralism in Canadian policy.)

Tom Keating discussed Canada's expanding involvements in regional organizations in pursuit of its foreign policy objectives. Although these initiatives appear to mark a departure from the Canadian government's traditional support for multilateralism, Keating contended that the shift is more tactical than substantive. Canada has attempted to use regional groupings to build support for reform at the global level while resisting regional approaches that might hinder the development of more broadly based norms and procedures. The Canadian government's embrace of regional institutions does not represent a rejection of long standing support of the United Nations and other multilateral organizations, but rather an attempt to use regional institutions "as a way of extending the basis of support for the global system."

Denis Stairs, in his discussion of Canada's relations with Europe, showed that attempts to foster closer Transatlantic economic linkages have been a recurrent ingredient of Canadian diplomacy since World War II. These initiatives, however, have not been notable for their success. Although Canada was instrumental in creating NATO, its efforts to transform the alliance into a broadly based North American community came to naught. While Canada enjoyed some success in developing consultative arrangements with the EU through the 1976 "Contractual Link" agreement, the 1990 Transatlantic Declaration and the 1996 Action Plan, the effects on the economic substance of the relationship have been problematic. These experiences, according to Stairs, demonstrate the "liberalism of the Canadian state." Unlike security, economic policy depends on the private sector and is highly resistant to government designs.

Ronald Keith and Patricia MacLachlan traced the halting evolution of Canadian policy toward APEC and how this nascent policy thinking fits into the broader

Canadian strategy of correlating involvement in transparent multilateral regulations with participation in diverse cooperative regional arrangements. The complexity of reconciling these dimensions was demonstrated at the 1997 APEC summit, which was dominated by Asia's spreading financial crisis. Keith and MacLachlan showed that Canada played by two different sets of "rules" at the summit. On the one hand, it sided with the Asian consensus based approach on issues of trade liberalization. On the other hand, it supported the "Western" conception of internationally imposed regulation by joining with the US in insisting that the financial crisis be dealt with through the mechanism of the International Monetary Fund. As APEC chair Canada was not immediately able to integrate "positive regionalism" with transparent multilateralism. In the Vancouver context regionalism and multilateralism were instead bifurcated within different issue areas of trade liberalization and finance.

Session V: Doing Business in Europe, North America and Asia Pacific

(This session examined the prospects for Canadian business activity in an era of regionalization and globalization.)

Philip Boname observed that there is a huge consuming public emerging in Asia. Canada's share of Asian trade, however, is declining and will continue to do so unless action is taken. Boname noted that Canada is highly regarded in Asia and must build upon its reputation in order to improve its business prospects in the region. Trade, he observed, can also be a useful indirect vehicle for improving human rights practices, especially in China.

Canada needs to develop strategies and institutions to improve its education system to keep up with advances in Asian countries, especially those in South East Asia. In addition, the state, the academic community and the business sector must work together more closely to increase Canada's ability to compete abroad. Finally,

Canada needs to become more effective at information dissemination. Small firms do not have the resources to undertake the major research, investment and marketing initiatives that large corporations can mount. To assist them in these tasks Boname proposed that Ottawa create an "intelligence gathering system," consisting of a group specialized individuals who would gather, analyse and package information that would be provided to the private sector on a user pay, for profit basis. Firms would willingly pay to have information of this kind.

Kent Jespersen drew on NOVA Corporation's international business activities to identify key factors that need to be taken into account when doing business abroad. He drew attention to the importance of building relationships with local partners and the need for a talented, diverse workforce. Because resources are finite, activities should be focused on a limited number of countries or regions. There must be a fit between the target country or region and the type of business a firm wants to conduct. NOVA looks for regions with low to moderate financial risk. Local partners are the key to successful ventures abroad. They help foreign firms: understand regional differences, tap into local business cultures, and bring complementary expertise to the table. Sharing ownership in a venture also decreases risk.

In order to compete effectively a firm needs a workable strategy, the ability to make quick decisions, support of senior people in the company, a staff and board of directors with solid international experience, strong technical and operational competence, and the ability to manage public sector relationships.

Jespersen posed the question, "Do Canadian firms have a competitive advantage in the international market place?" His answer was "Yes and No." On the Yes side, Canada is generally regarded as being flexible, collaborative and culturally sensitive. On the No side, Canadians have gained a reputation as not being assertive enough and for being less aggressive and less self-confident than their American

counterparts. Canadian firms need to step up and claim their share in the global market place.

Yoan Price drew upon lessons that Northern Telecom has learned as a result of its shift of focus from North America to the global market place. He stressed the importance of conducting an "environmental analysis" of the countries/regions in which a firm wants to do business, based on several key variables: the market place, cultural differences, political influence, labour costs, labour productivity, labour relations, and environmental or "green" issues.

Using these variables, Price compared doing business in North America, Europe and Asia from Nortel's perspective:

ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS

	North America	Europe	Asia
Markets	Open	Closed	Closed
Cultural	None	Differentiation	Differentiation
Open	Open	Nationalistic	Protective
Med-High	Med-High	Med-Low	Low

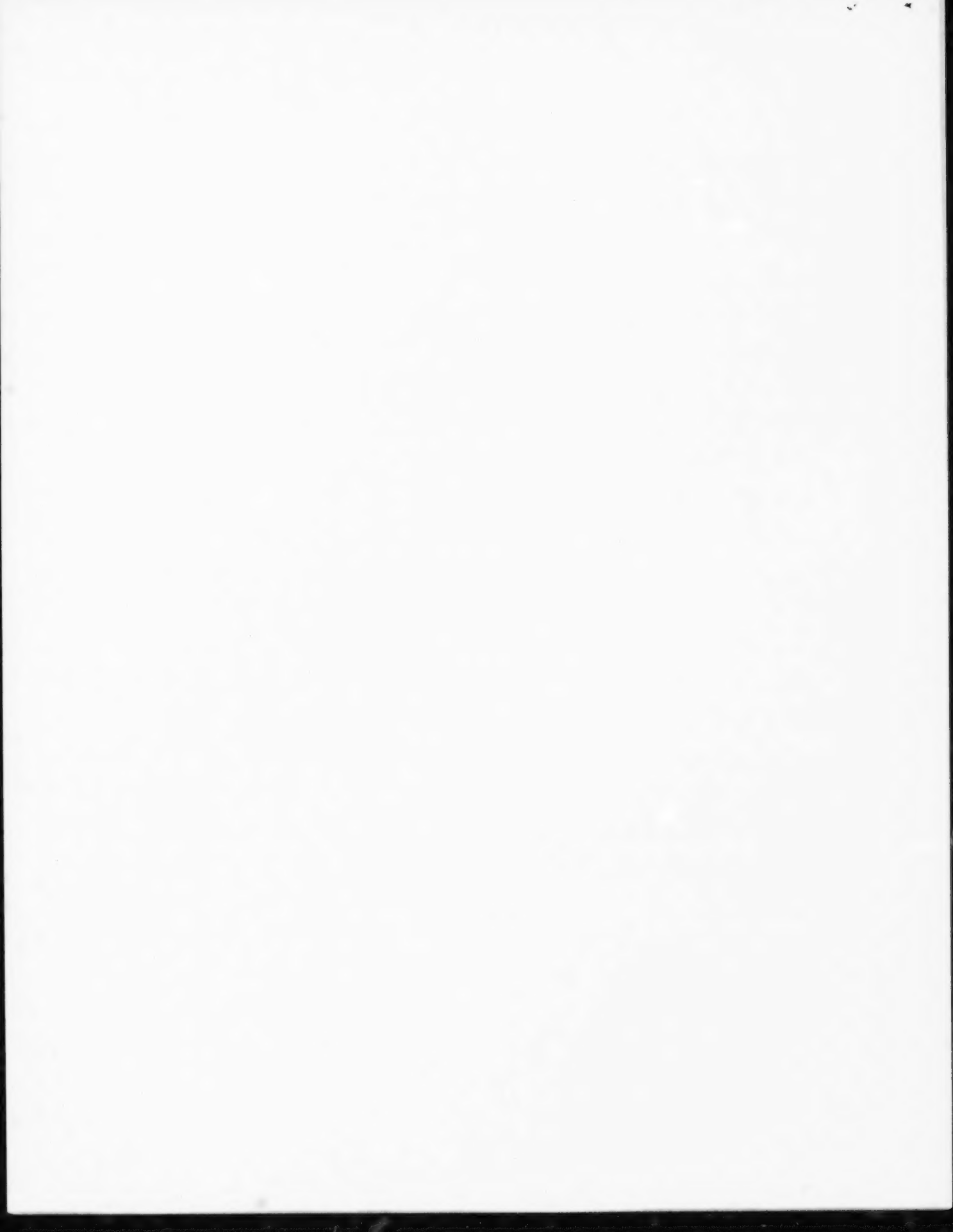
ENVIRONMENTAL ANALYSIS

	North America	Europe	Asia
Labour Productivity	Med-High	Med-High	Low
Labour Relations	Non Unionized/ Unionized	Unionized	Unionized/ Closed
"Green Issues"			
• Product Cycle	Not Evident	Med-High	Not Evident
• Industrial Control	Medium	High	Limited
• Health & Safety	Medium	High	Limited

Session VI: Summing Up (This panel explored the impact of regionalization and globalization on domestic policy making and considered alternative scenarios for the future of the international trading system.)

William Coleman and Anthony Perl, in their assessment of the effects of regionalization and globalization on domestic policy making, contended that states continue to play a role in structuring economic interaction and policy development. Contemporary state-led adaptation to global trends is distinguished from earlier periods of intensified global interaction in that it occurs outside national boundaries through "internationalization"--the process of developing common regional policy instruments to manage economic and social problems. Coleman and Perl argued that "multilevel governance" arrangements, which mediate between domestic and transnational interests and organizations, will be crucial to the success or failure of contemporary internationalizing efforts.

Charles Doran reviewed that preceding presentations in broad perspective and set out possible futures for international trade and investment reform. In the first scenario, regionalism winds down as multilateralism prevails in a new round of trade talks that embraces virtually all countries and extends WTO disciplines to new areas. The second scenario envisages a possible balkanization of the global trade system in which regionalism becomes more entrenched and multilateralism falters. In the third scenario, the international trade system begins to look more like a "melange" in which trade blocs compete with global trade initiatives for the support of state governments. Doran suggests that the last scenario is most likely to predominate. Regionalism could become an important vehicle for galvanizing multilateral trade reform in this scenario, not only in terms of initiatives and ideas, but also via inter-regional bargaining and integration, which could increase the prospects for system wide reform.



EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA AND ASIA PACIFIC: COOPERATION OR CONFLICT?

October 24-25, 1997
Rooms 276-277
MacEwan Student Centre
The University of Calgary

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1997

- 12:00 noon **Registration**
MacEwan Student Centre, Room 275
- 1:00 p.m. **Official Opening** (Rooms 276-277)
Donald Barry, Conference Chair
Terrence White, President, University of Calgary
- 1:20 p.m. **Keynote Speech,**
Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, P.C., C.C.
"The International Country"
Introduction:
Stephen Randall, Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences
- 2:00 p.m. **Session I: Regionalism and Globalism**
Chair: Helmut Mach, Alberta Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs

Michael Hart, Carleton University
"A Matter of Synergy: The Role of Regional Agreements in the
Multilateral Trading Order"

Gilbert R. Winham, Dalhousie University
"The Evolving Global Trade System"
- 3:30 p.m. **Coffee Break**
- 3:45 p.m. **Session II: The Dynamics of Regional Integration**
to
5:15 p.m. Chair: Juan Palacios, University of Guadalajara

Charles Pentland, Queen's University
"The European Union: States, Markets and Regional Institutions in the
Political Agenda of the 1990s"

Robert McCleery, Claremont McKenna College
"The Dynamics of North American Integration: A Look at the Political
Economy of NAFTA Expansion"

Steve Chan, University of Colorado at Boulder
"National Power and Trade Structure in APEC"

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1997

8:30 a.m. **Registration**
MacEwan Student Centre, Room 275

9:00 a.m. **Session III: Relations Among Europe, North America and Asia
Pacific**

Chair: Kimie Hara, University of Calgary

Carolyn Rhodes, Utah State University
"North America and Europe"

Charles Morrison, East-West Center
"North America and Pacific Asia: Rivals, Partners or Community
Members?"

Richard Higgott, University of Warwick
"ASEM: Prospects for the Institutionalization of the Asia-Europe
Relationship"

10:30 a.m. **Coffee Break**

10:45 a.m. **Session IV: Whither Canada?**
to

12:15 p.m. Chair: John Hilliker, Department of Foreign Affairs &
International Trade

Tom Keating, University of Alberta
"Canadian Foreign Policy in a Period of Change"

Denis Stairs, Dalhousie University
"The Pursuit of Economic Architecture by Diplomatic Means: The Case of
Canada in Europe"

Ronald Keith, University of Calgary, and
Patricia Maclachlan, University of Texas at Austin
"Canada and Conflicting Trends of Economic Cooperation in APEC"

12:30 p.m. **Lunch (University Club)**

Guest Speaker: John Curtis, Department of Foreign Affairs and
International Trade

"APEC: Vancouver and Beyond"

Introduction: Allan Cahoon, Faculty of Management

2:00 p.m. **Session V: Doing Business in Europe, North America and
Asia Pacific**

Chair: David Elton, Canada West Foundation

Participants:

V. Philip Boname, Urbanics Consultants, Vancouver, B.C.

Kent Jespersen, NOVA Corporation, Calgary, AB

Yoan Price, Nortel, Calgary, AB

3:30 pm. **Coffee Break**

3:45 p.m. **Session: VI: Summing Up**

to

5:15 p.m. Chair: Senator John Stewart, The Senate of Canada

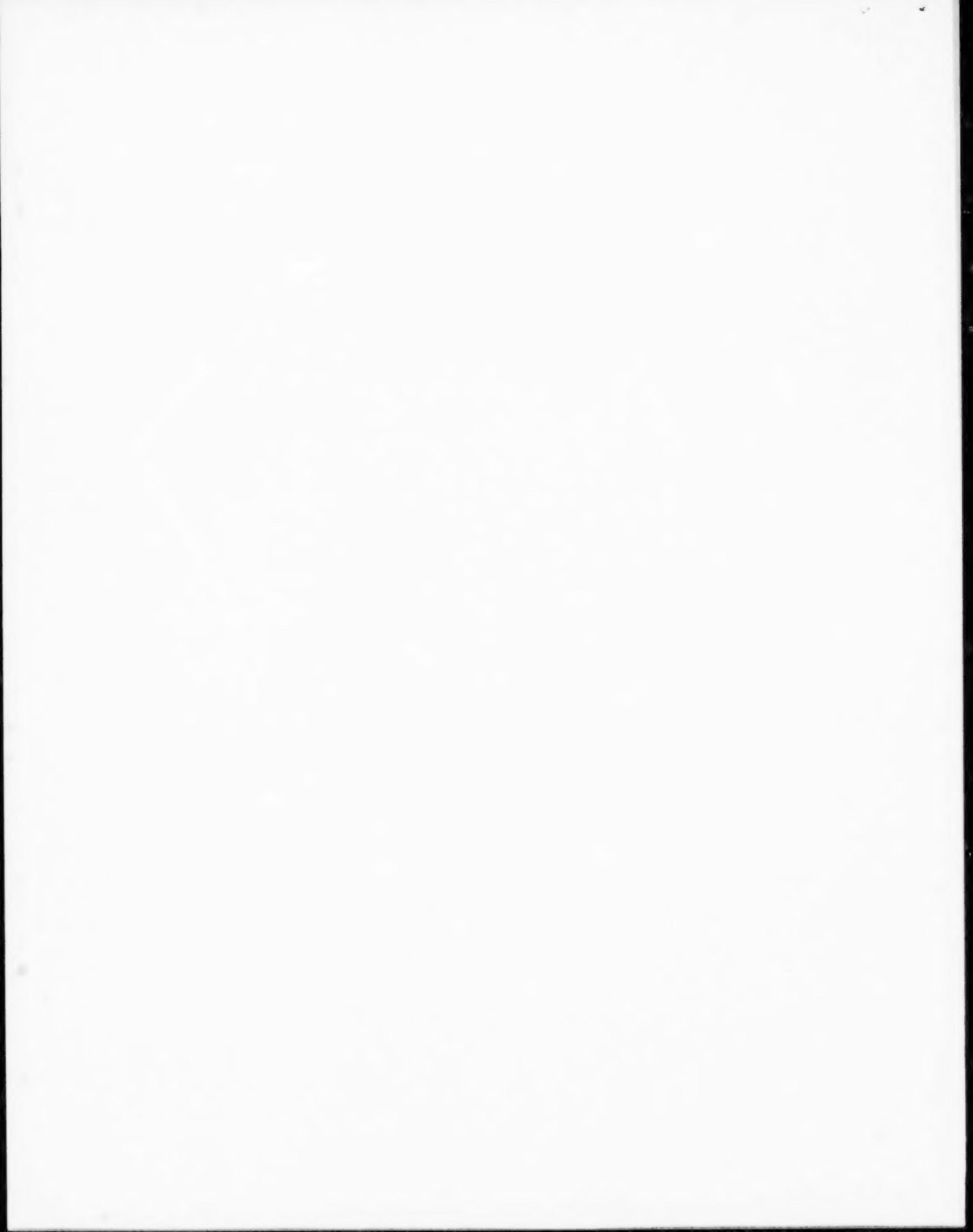
William Coleman, McMaster University and

Anthony Perl, University of Calgary

"Regional Integration: Boon or Bane for Domestic Policy Making"

Charles F. Doran, Johns Hopkins SAIS

"The Regionalism/Globalism Controversy"



EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA AND ASIA PACIFIC: COOPERATION OR CONFLICT?

October 24-25, 1997

ABOUT OUR SPEAKERS

V. Philip Boname is president of Urbanics Consultants Ltd., a Vancouver based firm specializing in real estate analysis and urban development consulting. He is a director of the Canada West Foundation, and vice chairman of the Vancouver city Planning Commission.

Steve Chan is professor of political science at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Among his publications are *Beyond the Developmental State: East Asia's Political Economies Reconsidered*, with Cal Clark and Danny Lam, (1997); *Foreign Direct Investment in a Changing Global Economy* (1995); and *East Asian Dynamism: Managing Growth, Order, and Security in the Pacific Region* (1993).

Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, P.C., C.C., is president of Joe Clark & Associates, an international consulting firm based in Calgary. Mr. Clark was elected six times to the House of Commons from 1972 to 1993. He served as Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition (1976-1979 and 1980-1983), Prime Minister of Canada (1979-1980), Secretary of State for External Affairs (1984-1991), and President of the Privy Council and Minister Responsible for Constitutional Affairs (1991-1993).

William Coleman is professor of political science at McMaster University. He has published *Financial Services, Globalization, and Domestic Policy Change: A Comparison of North America and the European Union* (1996); *The State, Business and Industrial Change in Canada*, with Michael M. Atkinson, (1989); and *Business and Politics: A Study in Collective Action* (1988).

John Curtis is Senior Policy Advisor and Coordinator, Trade and Economic Policy, in the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. He has a major role in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, serving as Chairman of the Economic Committee. He has also been involved in the work of the OECD Trade Committee and in the Canadian government's private sector consultative process on trade policy.

Charles F. Doran is Andrew W. Mellon Professor of International Relations and Director of the Center of Canadian Studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. His publications include *A New North America*, with Alvin Paul Drischler, (1996); *The NAFTA Puzzle: Political Parties and Trade in North America*, with Gregory P. Marchildon, (1994); *Systems in Crisis: New Imperatives of High Politics at Century's End*, (1991); and *Forgotten Partnership: U.S.-Canada Relations Today* (1984).

Michael Hart is professor of international affairs in the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, Carleton University. Among his publications are *Multilateral Negotiations: Lessons from Arms Control, Trade and Environment*, with Fen Hampson, (1995); *Also Present at the Creation: Dana Wilgress and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment at Havana* (1995); and *Decision at Midnight: Inside the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Negotiations* (1994).

Richard Higgott is professor of international political economy and Director of the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation at the University of Warwick. His publications include *Ideas, Policy Networks and International Policy Coordination in the Asia Pacific* (1994); *Relocating Middle Powers: Australia and Canada in the Evolving World Order*, with Andrew F. Cooper and Kim Richard Nossal, (1993); and *Pacific Economic Relations in the 1990s: Cooperation or Conflict?* (1993).

Kent Jespersen is senior vice president, NOVA Corporation and president, NOVA Gas International Ltd. He is chairman of the C.D. Howe Institute, chairman, Institute of Americas and a member of the Prime Minister's Advisory Council on Asia Pacific.

Ronald C. Keith is professor and head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Calgary. He has published *China's Struggle for the Rule of Law* (1994); *The Diplomacy of Zhou Enlai* (1989); and *Energy, Security and Economic Development in East Asia* (1986).

Tom Keating is professor of political science at the University of Alberta. He has written *Canada and World Order: The Multilateralist Tradition in Canadian Foreign Policy* (1993); and *Canada, NATO and the Bomb*, with Larry Pratt, (1988).

Patricia L. MacLachlan is assistant professor in the Department of Asian Studies, The University of Texas at Austin. She is the author of *The Politics of Consumer Protection in Japan: The Impact of Consumer Organizations on Policy Making* (forthcoming).

Robert K. McCleery is visiting associate professor of economics at Claremont McKenna College. His publications include *South Asia as a Dynamic Power*, with S.P. Gupta and William James, (1994); and *Regional Integration and Its Impact on Developing Countries* (1993).

Charles E. Morrison is director of the APEC Study Center at the East-West Center. Among his publications are *The Asia-Pacific Security Outlook: 1997* (1997); *The Pacific Islands: Politics, Economics and International Relations* (1991); and *Japan, the United States, and a Changing Southeast Asia* (1985).

Charles Pentland is professor of political science at Queen's University. He has published *The Canada-European Communities Framework Agreement*, with Hans Michelmann and Robert Boardman (1984); *Issues in Global Politics*, with R.G. Boyd, (1981); and *International Theory and European Integration* (1973).

Anthony Perl is associate professor of political science at the University of Calgary. His publications include *Improving Urban Air Quality: The Contribution of Institution Building*, with Wyn Grant and Peter Knoepfel, (forthcoming).

Yoan Price is Operations Director for Norstar and Integrated Business Communication Systems at Northern Telecom Limited. He has 33 years experience in a manufacturing environment, much of it in the UK supporting the European Market place.

Carolyn Rhodes is associate professor of political science at Utah State University. Among her publications are *Pivotal Decisions: Select Cases in Twentieth Century International Politics* (forthcoming); *The European Union and the World Community* (1997); and *Reciprocity, U.S., Trade Policy and the GATT Regime* (1993).

Denis Stairs is McCulloch professor in the Department of Political Science, Dalhousie University. He has published *The Diplomacy of Constraint: Canada, the Korean War, and the United States* (1974); and, with Gilbert R. Winham, *Canada and the International Political/Economic Environment* (1985), *The Politics of Canada's Economic Relationship with the United States* (1985), and *Selected Problems in Formulating Foreign Economic Policy* (1985).

Gilbert R. Winham is the Eric Dennis Memorial Professor of Government and Political Science at Dalhousie University. His publications include *International Trade and the Tokyo Round Negotiations* (1986); *Trading With Canada: The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement* (1988); and the *Evolution of International Trade Agreements* (1992).

